other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are then derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the males are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the *diwankhana* with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

Turning now to the course of an individual's [illegible] through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman senses the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the *diwankhana* or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she senses all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the [illegible] in labor.

woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Rwanda in 1953, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on multiweave spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Ruhonyi (Lunda, "Purpure") and Yezu ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and combed. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, ikimeri ikiza ("friend of the infant"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

The female relatives of the mother remain with her for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

[illegible] B-6 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the [illegible] marriage, also the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the district's wife at Tuquzawa.

Parturition takes place in a sitting posture. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between-legs. Over this is tied a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour soon herself, the assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another relative draws in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her around the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Serkan there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's home at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, than the first to be trained in Sulaimaniyah. At the time I was there this woman was about 60 years of age.

Births take place in one of the rooms of the home. I was told that the latter was be present. The umbilical cord is cut by [illegible] or scissors. The [illegible] doctor at the Dokan Dam She told me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities to the fame of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynaecologist at the hospital at Sulaimaniyah told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her internal functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimaniyah in such medical attention. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynaecologist.

In another case a woman in Serkan continued with fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimaniyah. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, usually is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that was in a napkin and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches up to the shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.20 m. x 1.20 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are then up around the feet. The two upper

§61 religious festivals; though such ceremonies are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is thus determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

• §62 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, and the women's fear of being barren. When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or unsmoked beside his crib. This is so that the shaw, a form of djinn or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaw is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaw is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion leaf may be placed beside her.

§63 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the naming ceremony. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

§64 Circumcision of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, a man or two will be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Sulaimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village

[31] personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[84] [85] The Kurd is born into a world of dancing and feasting, for relatives and friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers beneath. When he reaches the age of five he is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

[86] [87] [88] He has another great festival when he is

[848 continues on p. 578]